and French Revolution Compared Soviet Russia

Many Points of Similarity Between Bolsheviki and Jacobins are Noteworthy, Especially Tenets of German Origin.

By DAVID S. MUZZEY. Associate Professor of History.

A. B., Harvard, 1893; B. D., New York University, 1897; Ph. D., Columbia,

REASONING by/analogy is a very subtle temptation both to the philosopher and the historian. To the former it offers a relaxation from strict logical sequences; to the latter a relief from painstaking research. Analogy furnishes a line of least resistance. It is so much easier to rest in the realm of superficial resemblances than to penetrate to the depths of fundamental diversities. The latter process, besides discovering new facts which must be included in our mental synthesis, also discovers unwelcome facts which compel useto revise our cherished creed of finality. It is a challenge both to our inertia and to our

Weakness Common to King and Czar.

The most tempting morsel of historical analogy that our generation has furnished is the comparison of the Russian revolution of 1917 with the great French revolution of 1789-1795. The resemblances, indeed, are many and striking. In each case a long established dynasty was overthrown because its last weak scion on the throne, after yielding to pressure from the enlightened reformers of his realm to call the representatives of the nation together, treacherously refused to give those representatives his confidence and support. In each case the control of the revolution, passed rapidly out of the hands of the moderates, who stood for the reform of political abuses with the retention of an orderly bourgeois social structure, into the hands of a small and determined band of social revolutionists, who, under the pretext of "completing" the revolution, attacked institutions. customs and contracts which the great majority of the enlightened men of the nation regarded as necessary and proper, if not sacred, and persecuted, exiled or massacred the moderates as "counter

In the nine months following the overthrow of Louis XVI. the convention which had been elected to frame a constitution for France was the scene of a tremendous battle between Girondist and Jacobin which ended in the exclusion and proscription of the advocates of an inclusive, federalist, representative, democratic republic and the triumph of the dictatorship of the Jacobin Committee of Public Safety. In the eight months following the overthrow of Nicholas II., pending the election of the assembly which was to frame a democratic constitution for Russia, the provisional coalition Government of Prince Lyov and the Moderate Socialist Government of Kerensky were both undermined by the Communist propaganda of the Soviets, which triumphed in the Bolshevist dictatorship of Lenine and Trotzky.

In each case, furthermore, there existed side by side in the capital two centres of authority-one national, the other local. The convention in Paris and the democratic conference (or pre-parliament) in Petrograd were charged with the difficult tash of the organization of the national power-a task difficult for two reasons: First, because long centuries of arbitrary rule had deprived the land of that nationwide political education on which a stable democracy must rest, and secondly, because a representative democratic government must perforce be a coalition, reconciling conflicting economic interests as well as hostile political sects. Confronting these sorely tried national bodies were the Jacobin Club in Paris and the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates (the Soviet) in Petrograd, both opposed to moderation, conciliation, representative government and federal authority. The Jacobins, like the Bolsheviki, meant to "finish" the revolution, to oust the bourgeoisie and put the "people" in control, to take revenge on wealth and power for years of exploitation and oppression, to regenerate the state and even the world by the rule of the uncorrupted, the "virtuous," the plain and poor toiler.

They had an elaborate organization of espionage and propaganda. They appealed to the masses in the cities and did not hesitate to arm and incite the desperate. Their appeal to the virtuous citizeen against "the rich, the well born and the able" fell, as such appears always fall, on willing ears. They began their political agitation first by bringing pressure to bear on the assembly by delegations and representations, then they dictated to it an 1 terrorized it by armed mobs, and victorious radicals was to spread their The Illuminati pronounced against resion if possible, but by force if there was A certain M. Craufurd, a friend of the "counter revolutionary" resistance. For French Queen, wrote to William Pitt in

hins and Bolsheviki was that this same "virtuous" class, which was so much better fitted to rule than the corrupt bourgeoisie, did not know what was good for them until they were instructed (somewhat in the manner of Clovis's and Charlemagne's forced baptisms) by the missionaries of Robespierre and Lenine.

Besides these points of resemblance in the general nature and course of the revolutions in France and Russia the student who is curious of historical analogies can find many surprising coincidences in detail. The derivation of the Bolshevist political philosophy from German sources is unquestioned. Lenine himself boasts that he is putting into practice the Marxian doctrine pure and simple, though John Spargo, a careful student of Karl Marx. contends that Leninism is only a spurious Marxism. Genuine or spurious, however.

many of the extravagant and diabolical doctrines that spread with such unparalleled luxuriance in the hotbeds of France were carried from Germany."

The desperate confidence of the people of Petrograd in the Bolsheviki when it seemed as if the Prussian army must march from Riga and Jacobstadt to storm the capital recalls the panic in Paris when Longwy and Verdun fell and only Danton seemed to stand between the revolution and the Prussians. In its session of April 17, 1917, the Democratic Council at Petrograd adopted a programme of foreign policy "under pressure from the Soviet." An educated member of that session might have let his thoughts wander to another hall in which the delegates who were laboring to organize a national government were often forced to legislate "under pressure" from the Jacobins of The France of 1789, in spite of anomalies

Black Sea by the novades de Nantes, the desecration of the Kremlin by the deseeration of Notre Dame. The very phraseology of the leaders is the same; the Bolshevik tirades against the bourgeoisie are copied almost verbatim from the distribes

of Robespierre." For all this apparent preestablished harmony between the French and Russian revolutions, a closer examination of the movements reveals such fundamental differences that the student or statesman would not have the slightest justification for proceeding by the rule of the fourth proportional to fill out by prophecy what is not yet revealed in history. First of all, in comparing the French and Russian revolutions, we are comparing the known with the unknown, the finished with the incomplete, the statue with the torso.

the last few years have been fragmentary and contradictory, not alone because they have been censored or garbled, but also because one man's Russia differs from another's, as Holland differs from Italy.

The student of the French Revolution has documents of extraordinary fulness at his disposal. From the very first he has the reports of organized national assemblies (the Constituent, the Legislative, the Convention) which succeeded each other in practically unbroken continuity. And even before the meeting of the States General he has a picture of the social and political condition of France in the thousands of cahiers de doleances, or statements of grievances, sent in by invitation of the King, from the clergy, nobles and third estate of all the administrative departments of the kingdom. The Russia of 1917, however, is mute.

NUMBER 1.

Greatest Contrast of the Two Revolts is the Attitude of the Dominating Factions Toward Property Rights.

dier who came at dawn to order the people's representatives to leave the hall because the guards were tired!" Such is the description of an eyewitness. The Constitutent Assembly of all the Russins lived one night, but it was ten years after the meeting of the States General that Napoleon Bonaparte drove the elected representatives of France out of their hall at the point of the bayonet. Those ten years are the history of the revolution in France. The revolution in Russia remains to be written.

One further general remark. The French revolution means vastly different things to different students. For the evolutionary historian, following the lead of De Tocqueville and Edgar Quinet, it is the accomplishment of a body of wonderful reforms in state, church and social status in the constructive years 1789-1791. For Carlyle and Taine it is a cataclysm, the "upbursting of anarchy" in the Jacobin fury of 1793-1794. For Kropotkin it is the stifled cry of the proletarian and the peasant. There is no more suggestive fact in the whole movement than this, that at the end of each crisis-when the States General were assembled, when the first constitution was adopted, when the King was dethroned, when the convention was "purged" of Girondists, when Robespierre was executed, when Napoleon's "whiff of grapeshot swept the Rue St. Honore, when his coup d'etat of Brumaire cleared the hall of the Five Hundred at St. Cloud -voices were raised proclaiming, "Now the revolution is accomplished!" With which of these stages or aspects of the French revolution do the seekers of historical analogies mean to compare the events in Russia?

Russia's Revolution on a New Basis.

But assuming that it is the Jacobin domination of 1793-1794 that they have in mind as the "real" revolution (a position in which they would be supported by comparatively few historians to-day, like Mrs. Webster, quoted above), even here the differences in principle are so profound as to make the coincidences seem trivial and to render any prophetic deductions futile. First of all, Jacobinism was a political dogma. Drawing his inspiration chiefly from Rousseau, Robespierre was the exponent of a theory, not the leader of a cause. That theory was the highly speculative and never proven doctrine of a "virtuous" society, uncorrupted and uncontaminated by the servility paid to arbitrary kings, arrogant aristocracies and insolent plutocracies. If there were some practical results, like the maximum and the guillotine, they were only the inevitable corollaries of the theorem. Robespierre moved in a world of theory, an unreal world. He was the product of an "age of reason." Since the days of the schoolmen (to whom Robespierre really belonged) life had not been so completely charted as it was in the closing years of the eighteenth century. Three facts supervened in the nineteenth century to separate the Europe of to-day by a great gulf from the encyclopædic optimism of the "philosophes" and to make Robespierre's recipes for the production of Rousseau's perfect society sound like the veriest quackery. Those facts were the development of the industrial revolution. with the consequent emergence of the capitalistic and proletarian classes, the progress of the natural as distinguished from the moral and purely speculative sciences. and the growth of the political power of the actual middle class of Europe-not the virtuous savages of Rousseau, but the unvirtuous civilises of Balzac. Karl Marx. Darwin and Louis Blane met together. lik the three witches on the heath, under a sky lurid with the fires of the mid-century revolutions, to brew the boiling caldron of modern Europe's fate. Henceforth it is conditions and not theories that confront the Disraelis, the Bismarcks, the Garibaldis, the Jaureses, the Lloyd Georges-and the Lenines.

The Russian revolution rests on bases that were non-existent in Robespierre's day. It was born of that tremendous industrial acceleration which Moissaye Olgan has described so convincingly in the opening pages of his "Soul of the Russian Revolution." It was first and foremost a demand that the shackles of a benumbing despotism be struck off from the limbs of a mighty people, stirring like Rodin's "Penseur" to action. A Marxian Lenine may be, or may think himself to be. That matters little. He is wholly a revolutionist, vowed to put down the mighty from their seats and exalt the men of low degree, to expropriate, confiscate, regulate. dominate, and to carry the red flag around

Contrasts of the Two Revolts

No greater contrast could be found between the Jacobins and the Bolsheviki than appears in their respective attitude toward property. Though Robespierre thought that it was incompatible with virtue for a citizen to be worth more than 3,000 livres, he was firm in his support of private property. The communism of

Continued on Followina Page.

THE HERALD.

The Front Page of the First New York Herald

VOLUME L NEW-YORK, MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1835. retirement, and sink away into softary forgetfulness, retirement, and sink away into softary forgetfulness, the country with its prospects, its "clear sky, its scenes of beauty, and above all its holy stillness, seem, formed by nature for his retreat. Feeling as I do the full force of the above, I consider a week spent at the house of some friend, far in the howels of the country, as combining more real pleasure, than a month spent is the hubbus, noise and confusion of the "Springs" and there fore the reader will not be surprised that f did not mak the "fashiomable tour." If a man, however, who wishes to study the hutman mind in all its variety, I would advise him to fill his portunantesu and start immediately for Naratoga.

What man is more independent than a farmer, one who has around him a fine farm with all its necessities. I will unswer for one and all my city readers: that such a man experiences in one year, more real and

PUBLISHED DAILY BY JAMES GORDON BENNETT.

BANKS, THEIR RULES & REGULATIONS. The Hanks at Albany and Truy are open every day, except Sorting and holidays, from 10 A. M. to 2 P. M.; in Rochester, true 10 The Banks in New York are open from 10 to 3. Bills or notes offered for discount, must be enchood in a latter to the Cashier the day before discount day.

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it is German. Now, in the year of Ameri- Paris. And the Trotzkys who were procan independence, thirteen years before finally they sent troops which they had the Assembly of the States General, which suborned to put an end to national, demo- opened the revolution in France, an order eratic. representative government - in called the Illuminati was founded in Ba-Paris by "purging" the Convention of the varia. The principles of the order in-Girondists, in Petrograd by closing the cluded a condemnation of patriotism and doors of the Constituent Assembly. In loyalty as "narrow minded prejudice inboth France and Russia the object of the compatible with universal benevolence." rule over the whole country, by persua- ligion, marriage and private property.

STANZAS. I assure that thy love could be frail,
As the dew drop, adorning
The flowest that blooms on the wells, In the fre-kness of morning. But history tears I have shed,

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month, learned Administration in the County of New York.
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at the office of the City Hall, to execute the orders of the magnitude, still Jarob Hays, Red Condable, of Lispeaned at Benjamin L. Hays, & Lispeaned at William F. Strephonous, El Christie at James Bruny, 22 Coroline at Joseph M. Thomas, El Centre at Dennis Brink, il Leonard at Chester Hantingdon, 12 Matherry at Fan. U. Sparls, Elm, corner Leonard at Henry W. Merritt, 20 Matherry at Thomas Gornell, 200 Orange at Plancis Tillous, El Henry at J. Zeboim Photans, 22 Lispeaned at T. Thomas M. Callins, 41 Jay at B. Frunklin Tompkins, 56 Klincheth at Joan Dumber, 120 Orange at Percent Place, 704 Greenwich at Judin S. Hardenbruik, 102 Christophes at.
To attend didy at the upper office, corner of Reventy and Third threet, for the like purpose:

testing against the "dual impotence of a government which was not able and a Soviet which did not dare" were only echoing St. Just's "Whoever stops half way in a revolution digs his own grave." "Not only in its secret organization," says Mrs. Webster in the epilogue of her new study of the French Revolution, "but in its outward manifestation the Russian revolution has obviously been inspired by the French, the September massacres in the prisons of Petrograd by those in the

For scattered the rose in thy path, To there is the longuage it hith, Of the heart those had broken; For moves the wrenth for the hous, While my accepts here told thou, How dear to the bo-on wert thou, Which may sever enfold these Adies to the rapture of hope,
In opposition I languish,
What time my sail spirit may cope, With its withering onguish; The love I have nurtured, I gare Unto thee,-thus had given 1 dark and a devolute grave, To the heart thou had riven. The lyre of the bard is unstrung, And its chords are all battered; The heart of the poet is strong, And his existent are scattered; I must in the shadow of night, In the secrets of feeling.
I mourn that thy live should be light,

I mourn that thy love could be frail, As the desi drop adorning. The flow ret that blooms in the rale,

From the found of my serro

Ere the coming to-morrow.

I met ther in earliest spring,-

But then was thy heastly a thing, But for man's adulation; I muratured the lose, and the love,

Of the sage and the pact, To the heart I decreed mine to its core, or

But thus rand not hellow it.

In the fre-huma of marning But hitterer tears I have thed ; That another will pilles thy head, Err the down of to-me

AMATEUR PENCIL SKETCHES.

Stage Raine. Reader have you everexperienced the pir, the dust, and sweat of a long ride in a stage? You have? then it is useless for me to explain it, for its great indeed most be the powers of a man's description, that could vividly paint one half its inconveniences. Yet knowing its ills be dear bought experience. I was induced on Friday, the — of August, to register my name for a seat in the stage that was to start the next day for H—— II had some little business to the stage that was to start the next would start—rather than waiting an hour or two at the house for the stage to call for mr. On Saturday, for a wooder,—as I seldom start on a pourney but it is the hadinger of a storm—the sun row in all its magnificence, and bid fair to be a delightful—hot day; and I settinable began to grow dizzy at the thoughts of my rair. I was detained in my business longer than I antiquated, and it was some time after twelve before I reached Brooklyn. The stage was not there, my trait thoughts were that it was gone. With a voice trembling the row over exertion and "urprise, I inquired of a man who should examin bark against the aloop post," if the stage had started." Started' he exclaimed, with a mouthful of tobacco juice, "Why it don't start in an hour?" My portunanteau involuntary dropt from my hands, and for a moment I allowed myself to be in a desperate passion, which as I am a mr of weak disposition put me, in a profuse perspiration.— A JAUNT. Stage Rahne. Reader have you ever experienced Charles A Claiman, Clerk. W. G. Balderin, Deputy Clerk.
The credit trems of the court are the first Montay of each month.
Court of Comman Place for the City and County of New York.
John T. Itsine, First Judge.
Michael Hisherder, America Judge.
My Recorder and Aldermon of the city, at affects Judges.
The search with a Midermon of the city, at affects Judges.
The search with a Midermon of the city, at affects Judges.
The search with a Midermon of the city, at affects Judges.
The search with a Midermon of the city, at affects Judges.
The search of General Search and Term continues for weeks.

Thomas Juremish, Clerk. Aniere Warser, Deputy Clerk.
Meet on the first Fridoy after the algorithms with the continues of the first Fridoy after the algorithms of the Search of General Search.

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Heavy Meigr, Clerk of the General mod Special Search.

John B. Sealt, Efficiency Schiefficia, and Josh Hammond, Justices.

John B. Sealt, Efficiency is the Middle Mark.

Nicholas C. Evecut, M District, for 1st, Al and M Wards.

Nicholas C. Evecut, M District, for 1st, Al and M Wards.

Levi H. Clarke, the District, for 1st, and 1st Wards.

John W. Wyman,

Magolitzar,

Are Justices.

Anthony Wessland, Alb District for 1st, and 1st Wards.

John W. Wyman,

Magolitzar,

Are Justices.

All District for 1st, and 1st Wards.

John W. Wyman,

disappointment, but I assure you it was deep and hearted. Yet reader there was some consolation left, for the drawer paying any pright face "—told me that if I choose I might ride on the Boot!"

This was a new and horrible way of riding to me—talways consider the inside had coough—and I accepted the seat with much reluctance, for to say the truth; there was one or two of my female acquaintances in wide. At the time we started there was a delightful sanchine, without the least chance of secretine myself from its rays, for the situation I occupied required all my energies to keep myself on, without holding the unbirella. We travelled at the astonishing rate of five aides an hour, and you must allow that my situation, exposed to the unremitted rays of an August sun, was anything else but pleasire. However I had ample fine to view the country as I passed, and indulge in the thoughts of happiness, or regret, as they each were uppermost in my mind. We urrived after a ride of trarify six hours, at the house of Mr. ——about sundown, and, immediately on alighting from my situation, the misery I experienced completely vanished. There is a feeling of exquisite pleasure in arriving at a farm house after a long tedinous journey, just as the day is drawing to a close, the volrytous situation of experienced completely vanished. There is a feeling of exquisite pleasure in arriving at a farm house after a long tedinous journey, just as the day is drawing to a close, the volrytous situation of experienced completely vanished. There is a feeling of exquisite pleasure in arriving at a farm house after a long tedinous journey, just as the day is drawing to a close, the volvytous sent of executions for the works of the apostless, into dialogues in the manner of the sheeping wind, the believe of the cow, or the bleat of the lamb, seemed objects so the low marmnes of the sleeping wind, the believe of the cow, or the bleat of the lamb, seemed objects as the low of the proposition of the lamb that that that that the lamb that with the co

Rural Life. So a man of monerate natures and cament re narrates.

There are about thirty pounds of blood in the human
fashionable life, and is willing to spend a few days in
body, and exactly two hundred and forty-eight homes

The representatives of the people, elected in government and law, in spite of inequalities of opportunity and injustice in by universal suffrage on the overthrow of taxation, was still the most highly unified courtyard of the Taurida palace, and visiting Novgarod in 1917. Our reports finally insulted by the brutality of a sol-

who has around him a fine farm with all its necessities? I wift answer for one and all my city readers: that such a mian experiences in one year, more real and sincere pleasure than a "fashionable" man, with his parties of pleasure—vivit to the Springs—sumptious dinners and sleepless nights—will in nine; all spent too in his own way, and with nothing but pleasure for his guide. To be sure, a man that is born in the city—breathed all his days a city air, and receive a city education, it accurs hard to leave its gay scenes for the modest retirement, and solitary stillness of a country life. How sweet is a ramble in the woods, where one feels and knows himself alone. To a poet it is the only study formed by nature. There is something in the scene which draws his soul away from the grovelling thoughts that usure his every day mind, and in the stillness that reigns around, his imagination soars away as fancy's bliesful regions, and returns richly freighted with the harmony of poetry. I usually start for a piece of woods the moment I think I am at liberty to leave the house, and I find in this retreat a bland and delightful Keling, which even occupies my breast at other moments. I set me on some ambitious root, that wishes to rear its head by the side of that, which form it to support, and I indulge in all manner of souther and melant holy reflections, and when I have wound up my feelings till I can bear them no longer, I return home, such the Society there dissipates my reflections, and my mind, like the blue sky after a storm, is more acreas and calm than before.

Seenery. One clear lovely aftermoon, a party constitution of half a score of ladies and gentlemen, of whom I was one, started for II— Hill, from which I was told I would see one of the most beautiful prospects I ever witnessed, as its heights commanded a view of the surrounding country for many miles. I am one of nature's admirers, and will any time turn from viewing a ounding country for many miles. I am one of nature's admirces, and will any tune turn from viewing a splendid land-cape on canvas, to one of moderate beaus formed by nature, and a scene conveyed to pape the formed by nature, and a scene conveyed to paper with the most minute accumes, losses in my eye, half its effect. After a walk of nearly two miles, in which my eye rested but mearly every variety of accurery, we reached the top—and if ever I was struck with holy awe, it was this moment. I know not whether it was futality or not, but just as I reached the top the sun was sinking behind the hills in a bed of glory, and tinging the clouds that lingured around its retiring form, with all the second structure of the second structure of the second structure.

away by a spell, and it was with much refuctance that I tore myself away from the beauties that surrounded me, "to walk again on the dull earth." Religious Peaus.—A Jewish play of which frag-ments are still preserved in Greek Limber, is the first drama known to have been written on a reripture sub-ject. It is taken from Exodus: a performer in the cha-racter of Moses, delivers the prologue, in a speech of sixty lines, and his rod is turned into a serpent on the state. The play is supposed to have been written at the close of the second century, by one Ezekiel, a Jew, as a p-litical spectacle to animate his dispersed beethrea-with the hopes of a future deliveragee from their cap-ticity.

ing nich, and inv companion reminded nic that our party had started. I could not leave it, I had been drawn

The cusperer Julian made a law that no Christian would be taught in the Heathen schools or make use

the Czar, to make a democratic constitution, were dispersed by Lenine's janissaries after a single troubled night of deliberation, "overwhelmed with the insults of the faction in power (the Bolsheviki) and its supporters in the galleries, a howl-

country on the continent of Europe. The Russia of 1917, on the other hand, in spite of the despotic reach of the Czar's arm from Archangel to the Caspian Sea, was a congerie of states of diverse traditions, aims, languages and customs. One could ing mob of lynchers, terrorized by the know much of the French of Toulouse by guns of the fleet anchored in the Neva and the machine guns planted even in the visiting Normandy in 1789, but one could know little of the Russians of Ukraine by